# BACKGROUNDER: RELIGIOUS HATRED IN INDIA & GLOBAL SECURITY

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's anti-Muslim party founded by Nazi sympathizers

The crisis in Kashmir created by Narendra Modi has its origins in a movement that advances a racist ideology and advocates ethno-nationalist violence. The international community is not likely to respond with sufficient energy and resolve unless political leaders aided by the media appreciate that Modi's decision to assert control of Kashmir is deeply embedded in a set of beliefs and practices that played an important role in his rise to power and continues to be central to his successful political strategy.

- Modi's political power in India is derived from a movement that has for decades advanced racist ideology and ethnonationalist violence. Since childhood, Modi has been closely and actively associated with the RSS, an organization birthed by Nazi sympathizers that explicitly endorses the strategy and tactics of Hitler and Mussolini. RSS is the movement that spawned Ghandi's assassin, Nathuram Godse.
- Modi earned the title of "Butcher of Gujarat" as Chief Minister of that state where he
  watched over an anti-Muslim pogrom that killed over 1,000 people in 2002. The Bush
  administration's State Department then barred him from entering the U.S. for "severe
  violations of religious freedom."
- Modi continues to countenance government-sanctioned violence against Muslims
- Modi's government is now building detention camps for 2 million Muslims in Assam, many
  of whom have lived there for generations but who cannot produced documents proving their
  Indian citizenship.
- With Kashmir, Modi's India now poses an imminent, credible threat to regional and global security.
  - The crisis Modi has created in Kashmir, as with the less-noted crisis in Assam, is particularly dangerous because of its high stakes for him ideologically and electorally.
- The international community has been hesitant to describe the Prime Minister or his ruling party in such stark terms.
  - For journalists, using epithets like "fascist" is often frowned upon as editorializing: subjective, inflammatory and fraught.
  - Foreign service professionals are reasonably concerned about misapprehending a government with which they require a working relationship.
- But the situation has developed such that, beyond any humanitarian imperative, to avoid this language is now to critically disservice national and public interests.

- As the Associated Press acknowledged this year, choosing not to identify racist speech or action as "racist," even when doing so might be provocative, is a barrier to the accurate production and dissemination of knowledge.
- For governments, the situation is all the more serious: Modi's actions in Kashmir constitute an international emergency, threatening the safety and stability of the region and the world.
- To contextualize the crisis in Kashmir, and elucidate the cause for international alarm, this
  backgrounder provides (i) a history of Modi's political party and affiliates; (ii) a history of
  Modi's own political career; (iii) an overview of theories of fascism, compared against the
  present moment; and (iv) an assessment of India's historical and contemporary role in the
  politics and security of South Asia.

# HISTORY IN CONTEXT I: THE BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY (BJP) & RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEVAK SANGH (RSS)

- The ruling party of India, Modi's BJP, was formally established in 1980, but its roots are in a Hindu ethnonationalist tradition that extends back much further.
- The BJP was founded by the RSS, a paramilitary organization dedicated to cleansing India of non-Hindu minority communities and cultures.
- The RSS formed almost 100 years ago to advance the doctrine of "Hindutva," which holds that the glory of a unified Hindu racial identity is India's destiny.
  - Veer Savarkar, the father of Hindutva, urged a "defense of [Hindu] race and land."
  - Hindutva's popular appeal originally stemmed from opposition to British colonial rule, but the RSS was ultimately more interested in Hindu nationalism than decolonization.
  - The RSS sided with the British colonists over the secular democratic groups seeking India's independence, who they criticized as "Muslim sympathizers."
- The pioneers of RSS came to idolize Adolf Hitler's agenda and methods, with Savarkar arguing in 1940 that "Nazism proved undeniably the savior of Germany."
- One leader of the RSS, M. S. Golwalkar, wrote that Nazi Germany's approach to Jews was "race pride at its highest."
- Increasingly, the RSS began to re-appropriate Nazi iconography to suit their own pursuit of a pure Aryan race.
  - The concept of a supreme Aryan race actually traces back to racist interpretations of the Sanskrit epics, which Modi and the BJP selectively invoke to justify their agenda.

- The RSS has organized anti-Muslim terrorism for decades; they were outlawed three times in modern Indian history, but now assume complete power over government and society.
- To this day, RSS members dress in brownshirt uniforms and train for violence, explicitly claiming the mantle of the paramilitary groups who supported Hitler and Mussolini.
- The RSS is the base of Modi's power, and its Hindutva advocacy has pushed forward Modi's agendas in Assam and Kashmir.

#### HISTORY IN CONTEXT II: MODI'S LIFE & POLITICAL CAREER

- Modi began training with the RSS when he was only 8 years old.
- He started working for the RSS full-time in the 1970s, and their ethnonationalist ideology shaped his political style and ambitions.
- In 2001, he rose to power as the Chief Minister of Gujarat, where he watched over the Gujarat massacre, an anti-Muslim pogrom killing over 1,000 people.
- For overseeing the pogroms and exonerating his friends who initiated them, he became known as the "butcher of Gujarat," and the Bush administration's State Department barred him from entering the U.S. for "severe violations of religious freedom."
- As Chief Minister, Modi also changed local schools' curriculums to glorify Hitler and the Nazis — the history textbooks his State Board published included chapters like "Hitler, the Supremo," and "Internal Achievements of Nazism."
- One section of a Modi-approved textbook reads: "Hitler lent dignity and prestige to the German government. He adopted the policy of opposition towards the Jewish people and advocated the supremacy of the German race."
- As Prime Minister of India, Modi has adapted Hitler's foreign policy of *lebensraum* to guide India's conquest and cleansing of previously autonomous territory, like Kashmir.
- If history is a lesson, Modi's ambitions for racial purity and territorial domination are just beginning, threatening the security of South Asia and the world.

## IS MODI'S INDIA A FASCIST GOVERNMENT?

Determining whether Modi's India can be accurately described as "fascist" requires us to establish what fascism is and how it works in practice, with a basis in academic consensus.

- Fascists attain power by rallying ethnic majorities against a demonized minority "other."
  - Modi's Hindu nationalist agenda violently pits a Hindu religious majority against a Muslim minority roughly 14.2% of India's total population.
  - This agenda packages religious differences as a fateful clash of race and culture.

- Fascists construct a vast, mythic identity around the majority, giving rulers a near-divine legitimacy in pursuing ethnonationalist purification.
  - Hindutva, the defining concept behind his sweeping political appeal, posits that the glory of a unified Hindu racial identity is the destiny of the Indian state.
  - Modi reinforces this mythic identity by invoking centuries-old, foundational Sanskrit narratives — especially the epic *Ramayana* — and framing his political rule as their divine legacy.
  - This legacy, and India's destiny, thus requires an "urgent defense of our race and land," as the pioneer of Hindutva first argued almost 100 years ago.
- Fascist groups seek to redefine national identity in the image of this mythic majority identity, pushing out a constructed internal enemy.
  - The 1948 assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, an icon of Indian identity, was carried out by RSS member Nathuram Godse, now a key influence on Modi's political allies.
  - Modi's RSS aims to erase the historical status of Gandhi and his protégé Nehru, the first Prime Minister, viewing them as "Muslim sympathizers."
  - Modi's BJP, which represents the RSS, won a sweeping majority in the 2019 election on a campaign referencing Muslims as "infiltrators" and "termites."
  - One victorious member of Modi's BJP, Sadhvi Pragya, was convicted of terrorism a
    decade earlier, when she conspired to bomb a Muslim-majority city, killing 10
    people. Now, she is a powerful member of Indian parliament. At her victory party,
    she celebrated Gandhi's assassin as a patriot.
- As fascists consolidate identity and power, they advance political and military action to "cleanse" that identity of enemy presence.
  - Modi has now stripped citizenship from 1.9 million people in Assam, mostly Muslims, falsely claiming that they are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.
  - India is now building detention camps for these stateless Muslim Indians.
- Then, fascists expand outward, using that ethnonationalist energy to conquer and annex new territory.
  - Modi has now unilaterally revoked the political autonomy of Muslim-majority Kashmir, imposing order through brutal violence.
  - o India's ambitions in Kashmir, which borders Pakistan, risk potentially devastating conflict between two nuclear-armed nations.

### IN BRIEF: INDIA, KASHMIR & SOUTH ASIAN SECURITY

- India's 1947 independence involved partitioning it from another new and separate Muslim state, Pakistan.
- After two subsequent wars between India and Pakistan, both started to develop nuclear programs in the late 60s and early 70s.
- Over the course of these mid-century decades, the disputed territory of Kashmir for which
  the UN originally recommended a plebiscite vote of self-determination joined the nation
  of India on condition of political autonomy.
- Modi has now unilaterally revoked Kashmir's political autonomy, kidnapped its leadership, cut off its internet access and rounded up more than 2,000 Kashmiris in unknown locations; this has reignited already grave tensions between India and Pakistan.
- The possibility of renewed violent conflict over Kashmir, pitting two nuclear-armed nations against each other once more, could destabilize and devastate the South Asian region and the world.
- Modi's moves in Kashmir demand international attention and action.

#### CONCLUSION

- Modi's India has demonstrated ambitions of ethnic cleansing and conquest.
- These ambitions, which can be reasonably described as fascist, are becoming a new reality.
  - Muslims are regularly murdered, assaulted and stripped of rights.
  - Concentration camps for ethnic minority targets are in construction.
  - o India's thirst for outward expansion and domination is revealing itself on the ground.
- If the world looks on in resignation, as we did at Munich in 1938, India's quest for ethnic cleansing and annexation will only grow stronger this time with the protection of nuclear arms.
- The international community must act to save India's Muslims, to save India's neighbors and to save itself.

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Associated Press - Washington Bureau	Richard	Lardner	Investigative Reporter	rlardner@ap.org	1(202) 641-953
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Associated Press Broadcast	Matthew	Daly		matthewdaly@ap.org	
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Business Insider	John	Haltiwanger	Politics Reporter	jhaltiwanger@businessinsider.com	
BuzzFeed	Nidhi	Prakash		nidhi.prakash@buzzfeed.com	
BuzzFeed - Los Angeles Bureau	Ken	Bensinger	Investigative News Reporter	ken.bensinger@buzzfeed.com	1(212) 431-746
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CNN - Washington Bureau	Chris	Cillizza	Politics Reporter & Editor at Large		1(202) 898-79
CNN - Washington Bureau	Veronica		Breaking News Reporter	veronica.stracqualursi@turner.com	1(202) 898-79
Daily Dot	Andrew	Wyrich	Staff Writer	awyrich@dailydot.com	
Fortune Online	Erik	Sherman	Contributor	query@eriksherman.com	1(212) 522-12
HuffPost - Washington Bureau	Julia	Craven	Staff Reporter	julia.craven@huffpost.com	
HuffPost - Washington Bureau	Kevin	Robillard	Senior Politics Reporter	kevin.robillard@huffpost.com	
Kevin Drum - Mother Jones	Kevin	Drum	Political Blogger	calpundit@cox.net	
Mashable	Matt	Binder	Reporter	matt@mashable.com	
McClatchy Newspapers	David	Lightman	Congressional Editor	dlightman@mcclatchydc.com	1(202) 383-61
McClatchy Newspapers	Brian	Murphy	Correspondent	bmurphy@mcclatchy.com	1(202) 383-60
McClatchy Newspapers	Alex	Roarty	Politics Reporter	aroarty@mcclatchydc.com	1(202) 383-60
Metro Weekly	John	Riley	News Reporter	jriley@metroweekly.com	1(202) 638-68
Morning Joe - MSNBC	Mika	Brzezinski	Co-Host	planning@nbcuni.com	1(212) 664-44
Mother Jones	Inae	Oh	News & Engagement Editor	ioh@motherjones.com	1(415) 321-17
NBC News Online	Jonathan	Allen	National Political Reporter	jon.allen@nbcuni.com	1(212) 413-61
NBC News Online	Alex	Johnson	Reporter	Aller Carib On 1	1(425) 703-463
NBC Television Network	Allan	Smith	Politics Reporter	Allan.Smith@nbcuni.com	1(212) 664-44
NBC Television Network - Washington Bureau	Julia	Ainsley	National Security/Justice Reporter, NBC News investigations		1(202) 885-42
NBC Television Network - Washington Bureau	Peter	Alexander	White House Correspondent	peter.alexander@nbcuni.com	(202) 885-420
NBC Television Network - Washington Bureau	Leigh Ann	Caldwell	Political Reporter	leighann.caldwell@nbcuni.com	1(202) 885-42
NBC Television Network - Washington Bureau	Kelly	O'Donnell	Capitol Hill Correspondent	kelly.odonnell@nbcuni.com	1(202) 885-42
NBC Television Network - Washington Bureau	Heidi	Przybyla	National Political Reporter	heidi.przybyla@nbcuni.com	1(202) 885-42
New York Daily News	Chris	Sommerfeldt		csommerfeldt@nydailynews.com	
New York Post - Washington Bureau	Marisa	Schultz	Reporter & Senior Correspondent	marisa.schultz@nypost.com	(202) 393-178
Nexstar Media Group NPR/National Public Radio	Alexandra Lori	Limon	Washington Correspondent	alimon@nexstar.tv	
			Anchor	llundin@voanews.com	1(202) 513-20
NPR/National Public Radio	Shannon	Sant	a la	SSant@npr.org	4/000) 540 00
NPR/National Public Radio	Deirdre Scott	Walsh	Congressional Editor	dwalsh@npr.org	1(202) 513-20
NPR/National Public Radio Online	17.77.	Neuman	Reporter/Editor	sneuman@npr.org	1(202) 513-20
PBS NewsHour - PBS	Yamiche	Alcindor	White House Correspondent	yamiche@newshour.org	1(703) 998-21
Philadelphia Inquirer	Justine	McDaniel	Reporter	jmcdaniel@philly.com	1(215) 854-45
	John	Bresnahan	Senior Congressional Reporter	jbresnahan@politico.com	1(703) 647-85
POLITICO	Burgess Sarah	Everett	Congressional Reporter	beverett@politico.com	1(571) 830-84
POLITICO		Ferris	Reporter	sferris@politico.com	1(703) 647-79
POLITICO	Marianne	LeVine	Congressional Reporter	mlevine@politico.com	1(703) 341-46
POLITICO	David	Rogers	Senior Congressional Reporter	drogers@politico.com	1(703) 647-76
POLITICO POLITICO Pulse	Jake	120200	Senior Writer & Co-Author of The Playbook Healthcare Reporter, POLITICO Pulse & Host, Pulse Check	jsherman@politico.com	1(703) 647-79
POLITICO Pulse PRI's The World - PRI/Public Radio Internationa	Dan Stephen	Diamond	Senior Radio Producer	ddiamond@politico.com	1(703) 842-173
Reuters	David	Snyder Henry	Senior Radio Producer	1	1(617) 300-27.
Reuters	David			david.henry@thomsonreuters.com david.morgen@thomsonreuters.com	
Reuters	Patricia	Morgen	Correspondent	patricia.zengerle@thomsonreuters.com	4/202) 000 02
Reuters - Washington Bureau	Steve	Zengerle Holland	Special Correspondent	steve.a.holland@thomsonreuters.com	1(202) 898-83
Roll Call	Bridget	Bowman	Senior Political Reporter	bridgetbowman@rollcall.com	1(202) 650-65
Roll Call	Niels	Lesniewski	Senior Senate Staff Writer	nielslesniewski@cqrollcall.com	1(202) 560-75
Roll Call	Simone	Pathe	Senior Politics Reporter		
Salon	Matthew	Rozsa	Breaking News Writer	simonepathe@cqrollcall.com mrozsa@salon.com	1(202) 650-65
Seattle Times	Jim	Brunner	Politics Reporter	jbrunner@seattletimes.com	1(206) 515-563
Seattle Times	Joe	O'Sullivan	Government Reporter	josullivan@seattletimes.com	1(360) 236-826
Seattle Times	Richard	Wagoner	Politics & Traffic Lab Editor	rwagoner@seattletimes.com	
Sinclair Broadcast Group		gonel		J	1(206) 464-201
	Leandra	Bernstein	National Online News Writer and Reporter	Ibernstein@sbatv.com	1(206) 464-293
	Leandra	Bernstein Sweenev	National Online News Writer and Reporter Florida Reporter	lbernstein@sbgtv.com dsweenev@sun-sentinel.com	1(410) 568-15
South Florida Sun Sentinel	Dan	Sweeney	Florida Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau		Sweeney Vega	Florida Reporter Correspondent	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic	Dan Javier	Sweeney Vega Purdum	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@theatlantic.com	1(410) 568-150 1(954) 356-400 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-600
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe	Dan Javier Todd Jess	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer National Political Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@theatlantic.com jess.bidgood@globe.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd	Sweeney Vega Purdum	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@theatlantic.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer National Political Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@theatlantic.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth.goodwin@globe.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Alfantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer National Political Reporter Political Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@theatlantic.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth.goodwin@globe.com lauren.gambino@theguardian.com	1(410) 568-151 1(954) 356-401 1(202) 737-783 1(202) 266-601 1(617) 929-201 1(202) 857-503
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer National Political Reporter Political Reporter Staff Writer/Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@thestlantic.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth.goodwim@globe.com lauren.gambino@theguardian.com jbowden@thehili.com	1(410) 568-15i 1(954) 356-40i 1(202) 737-78: 1(202) 266-60i 1(617) 929-20i 1(202) 857-50: 1(202) 628-85i 1(202) 628-85i
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer National Political Reporter Political Reporter Staff Writer//Reporter Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@theatlantic.com jess.bidgood@jobe.com elizabeth.goodwin@globe.com lauren.gambino@theguardian.com jloowden@theill.com mgreenwood@thehill.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(518) 395-31
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer National Political Reporter Political Reporter Staff Writer/Reporter Reporter Staff Writer/Reporter Staff Writer/Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@melaalntc.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth goodwin@jlobe.com lauren.gambino@theguardian.com jbowden@thehili.com mgreenwood@thehili.com baamuels@thehili.com	1(410) 568-151 1(954) 356-401 1(202) 737-78: 1(202) 266-601 1(617) 929-201 1(202) 857-50: 1(202) 628-851 1(202) 628-851 1(518) 395-31
South Florida Sun Sentinel relemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Intercept	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer National Political Reporter Political Reporter Staff Writer/Reporter Reporter Staff Writer/Reporter Senior Staff Writer Senior Staff Writer	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tyurdum@thealants.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth goodwn@globe.com lauren gambino@theguardian.com jbowden@thehil.com mgreenwood@thehil.com swong@thehil.com	1(410) 568-151 1(954) 356-401 1(202) 737-78: 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50: 1(202) 628-851 1(202) 628-850 (202) 628-850
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Alantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Intercept The Intercept The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott Aida	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez	Florida Reporter  Correspondent  Staff Writer  National Political Reporter  Political Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Political Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@theatlantic.com jess.bidgood@jobe.com leitzabeth goodwin@globe.com lauren.gambino@theguardian.com jibowden@thehill.com mgreenwood@thehill.com basmuels@thehill.com aida.chavez@theintercept.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 358-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-850 1(202) 862-04
South Florida Sun Sentinel Felemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Intercept The New York Times - Washington Bureau The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott Aida Julie Hirschfeld	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez Davis	Florida Reporter  Correspondent  Staff Writer  National Political Reporter  Political Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Senior Staff Writer  Political Reporter  Congress Correspondent	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tpurdum@melaalntc.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth goodwin@jlobe.com lauren.gambino@theguardian.com jbowden@thehill.com mgreenwood@thehill.com basmuels@thehill.com swong@thehill.com aida.chavez@theintercept.com julie.davis@mylines.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(518) 395-31 (202) 628-850 1(202) 862-04 1(202) 862-04
South Florida Sun Sentinel relemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Intercept The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott Aida Julie Hirschfeld Catie	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez Davis Edmondson	Florida Reporter  Correspondent  Staff Writer  National Political Reporter  Political Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Senior Staff Writer  Political Reporter  Congress Correspondent  Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com tyurdum@thealants.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth goodwn@globe.com lauren gambino@thequardian.com jbowden@thehil.com mgreenwood@thehil.com swong@thehil.com swong@thehil.com jida.chavez@theintercept.com julied.davia@nylimes.com catie.edmondson@nylimes.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(518) 395-31 (202) 628-850 1(202) 862-04 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03
South Florida Sun Sentinel Telemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Intercept The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott Aida Julie Hirachfeld Catie Eric	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez Davis Edmondson Lipton	Florida Reporter  Correspondent  Staff Writer  National Political Reporter  Political Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Senior Staff Writer  Political Reporter  Congress Correspondent  Reporter  Investigative Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbc.uni.com tyndrum@metalents.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth.goodmingglobe.com lauren.gambino@theguardian.com jbowden@thelil.com mgreenwood@hehili.com swonog@thehili.com swonog@thehili.com julie.davieg@thehili.com julie.davieg@thehili.com sunog@thehili.com sunog@thehili.com sunog@thehili.com julie.davieg@mytimes.com catie.edmondson@nytimes.com lipton@nytimes.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03
South Florida Sun Sentinel Flelemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Intercept The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott Aida Julie Hirschfeld Catie Eric Jeremy	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez Davis Lipton Peters	Florida Reporter Correspondent Staff Writer National Political Reporter Political Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter Reporter Staff Writer/Reporter Reporter Senior Staff Writer Political Reporter Congress Correspondent Reporter Reporter Investigative Reporter Reporter Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbcuni.com typurdum@melalantc.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth goodwin@jlobe.com lauren.gambino@fibepuardian.com jlowden@thehil.com mgreenwood@thehil.com bsamuels@thehil.com swong@thehil.com aida.chavez@theintercept.com julie.davis@mytimes.com iglood.gamytimes.com iglood.gamytimes.com igloom.gamytimes.com igloom.gamytimes.com igloom.gamytimes.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03
South Florida Sun Sentinel relemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Intercept The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott Aida Julie Hirschfeld Catie Eric Jeremy Jonathan	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez Davis Edmondson Lipton Peters Weisman	Florida Reporter  Correspondent  Staff Writer  National Political Reporter  Political Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Senior Staff Writer  Political Reporter  Congress Correspondent  Reporter  Investigative Reporter  Deputy Washington Editor	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier.vegaurreta@nbcuni.com typurdum@fiselants.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth goodwn@globe.com lauren gambino@fiselant.com jbowden@thehil.com mgreenwood@thehil.com swong@thehil.com swong@thehil.com swong@thehil.com juida.chavez@theintercept.com juilie davis@gmyimes.com catie.edmondson@nytimes.com lipton@nytimes.com jonathan.weisman@nytimes.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 857-50 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03
South Florida Sun Sentinel relemundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boston Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Intercept The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott Aida Julie Hirschfeld Catie Eric Jeremy Jonathan Niraj	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez Davis Edmondson Lipton Peters Weisman Chokshi	Florida Reporter  Correspondent  Staff Writer  National Political Reporter  Political Reporter  Staff WriterReporter  Reporter  Staff WriterReporter  Staff WriterReporter  Senior Staff Writer  Political Reporter  Congress Correspondent  Reporter  Investigative Reporter  Reporter  Deputy Washington Editor  Reporter	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbc.uni.com typurdum@metalantc.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth goodwin@globe.com lauren.gambino@theguardian.com jbowden@thehil.com mgreenwood@hehill.com swong@thehill.com swong@thehill.com julie.davis@thehill.com julie.davis@mytimes.com catie.edmondson@nytimes.com julie.davis@nytimes.com jerenvpg@nytimes.com jerenvpg@nytimes.com jerenvpg@nytimes.com jonathan.weisman@nytimes.com	1(410) 568-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-60 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 657-50 1(202) 657-50 1(202) 628-85 1(518) 395-31 (202) 628-85 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03
South Florida Sun Sentinel retermundo - Washington Bureau The Atlantic The Boaton Globe The Boaton Globe - Washington Bureau The Guardian The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The Hill The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Dan Javier Todd Jess Liz Lauren John Max Brett Scott Aida Julie Hirschfeld Catie Eric Jeremy Jonathan Niraj Maggie	Sweeney Vega Purdum Bidgood Goodwin Gambino Bowden Greenwood Samuels Wong Chavez Davis Edmondson Lipton Peters Weisman Chokshi Haberman	Florida Reporter  Correspondent  Staff Writer  National Political Reporter  Political Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Reporter  Staff Writer/Reporter  Senior Staff Writer  Political Reporter  Senior Staff Writer  Political Reporter  Congress Correspondent  Reporter  White House Correspondent	dsweeney@sun-sentinel.com javier vegaurreta@nbcuni.com typurdum@melalantc.com jess.bidgood@globe.com elizabeth goodwin@jlobe.com lauren.gambino@fibepuardian.com jlowden@ithelil.com mgreenwood@thehill.com basmuels@thehill.com swong@thehill.com aida.chavez@theintercept.com julie.davis@mytimes.com ipton@mytimes.com jeremyp@nytimes.com jeremyp@nytimes.com jonathan.weisman@nytimes.com ingia.chokshi@nytimes.com maggie.haberman@nytimes.com	1(410) 588-15 1(954) 356-40 1(202) 737-78 1(202) 266-80 1(617) 929-20 1(202) 628-85 1(202) 628-85 1(518) 395-31 (202) 628-85 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03 1(202) 862-03
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Dallas Observer	Jim	Schutze	Columnist	jim.schutze@dallasobserver.com	(214) 757-9000
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Houston Chronicle	Jeremy	Wallace	Politics Reporter	ieremy.wallace@chron.com	1(713) 362-7171
KCEN-TV	Kris	Radcliffe	Morning Anchor	kradcliffe@kcentv.com	1(254) 859-5481
KENS-TV	Roxie	Bustamante	Reporter	rbustamante@kens5.com	1(210) 366-5000
KERA-FM	Christopher	Connelly	Reporter	cconnelly@kera.org	1(214) 740-9328
KEYE-TV	Scott		Chief Political Correspondent	swthuman@sbgtv.com	1(703) 236-9337
KHOU-TV	Marcelino	Benito	Reporter	mbenito@khou.com	(713) 526-1111
KPRC-TV	Phil	Archer	Reporter	parcher@kprc.com	1(713) 778-4933
KSAT-TV	Jessie	Degollado	Reporter	jdegollado@ksat.com	1(210) 351-1269
KTEP-FM	Louie	Saenz	News & Public Affairs Director	lusaenz@utep.edu	1(915) 747-5152
KTRK-TV	Katherine	Marchand	Reporter	katherine.marchand@abc.com	1(713) 666-0713
KTRK-TV	Miya	Shay	Television Reporter	miya.shay@abc.com	1(713) 666-0713
KTRK-TV - 13 Eyewitness News at 4	llona	Carson	Anchor		1(713) 666-0713
KUT-FM	Laura	Rice	Senior Producer and Reporter	Irice@kut.org	1(512) 232-5424
KUT-FM	Trey	Shaar	Producer and Reporter	tshaar@kut.org	(512) 471-1631
KWEX-TV	Antonio	Guillen	Journalist	aguillen@univision.net	1(210) 242-7451
KWTX-TV	Tara	Mergener	Anchor	tara.mergener@kwtx.com	1(254) 776-3242
KXAN-TV	Alyssa	Goard	Reporter / Multimedia Journalist	alyssa.goard@kxan.com	1(512) 476-3636
KXAN-TV	Phil	Prazan	Reporter	philp@kxan.com	1(512) 703-5300
KXAS-TV	Julie	Fine	Political Reporter	julie.fine@nbcuni.com	1(800) 232-5927
KXXV-TV	Hunter	Davis	Reporter	Hunter.davis@kxxv.com	1(254) 754-2525
New York Times - Houston Bureau	Manny	Fernandez	Bureau Chief	mannyf@nytimes.com	1(713) 752-2006 x1
Texas Observer	Gus	Bova	Staff Writer	bova@texasobserver.org	1(512) 766-7027
Texas Observer	Justin	Miller	Reporter	miller@texasobserver.org	1(512) 477-0746
Texas Standard - KUT-FM	III,	Ament	Producer and Reporter	jament@kut.org	1(512) 471-1631
Texas Town and City	Christina	Corrigan	Editor	chris@tml.org	1(512) 231-7400
Texas Tribune	Julian	Aguilar	Reporter	jaguilar@texastribune.org	1(214) 718-3332
Texas Tribune	Jay	Root	Investigative Reporter	jroot@texastribune.org	1(512) 716-8643
Texas Tribune	Patrick	Svitek	Political Reporter	psvitek@texastribune.org	(512) 716-8600
USA Today	Rick	Jervis	Correspondent	rjervis@usatoday.com	1(512) 533-2203
Waco Tribune-Herald	J.B.	Smith	Managing Editor	jbsmith@wacotrib.com	(254) 757-5752
WFAA-TV	Matt	Howerton	Reporter	mhowerton@wfaa.com	1(214) 748-9631
AF IV OW	David	Caltabiano	Reporter	decelfabieno@ebaty com	**** 000 000

Outlet	First	Last	Title	Email	FIIONE
ABC News Network	Elizabeth	McLaughlin		elizabeth.mclaughlin@abc.com	
AFP - AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE - NEW YORK Phillipe	K Phillipe	Rater		Philippe.RATER@afp.com	
Al Jazeera	Amanda	Price	Senior Producer, Al Jazeera Englis PriceA@aljazeera.net	PriceA@aljazeera.net	
Al-Arabiya TV - New York Bureau	Talai	Al-Haj	New York & UN Bureau Chief	alhaj1@aol.com	1(212) 355-5845
All Things Considered - NPR/National Public R. Marylouise	R Marylouise	Kelly	Host	mikelly@npr.org	
AlterNet	Ben	Norton		Ben.Norton@AlterNet.com	
Anadolu Agency - New York Bureau	Betul	Yuruk	Correspondent	byuruk@aa.com.tr	1(646) 596-8484
ANSA - New York Bureau	Alessandra	Baldini	US Correspondent	alessandra.baldini@ansa.it	
Associated Press	Brian	Carovillano	Managing Editor	bcarovillano@ap.org	(212) 621-1500
Associated Press - United Nations Bureau	Edith	Lederer	Chief United Nations Corresponde elederer@ap.org	elederer@ap.org	1(212) 621-7921
Associated Press - Washington Bureau	Deb	Riechmann	Reporter	driechmann@ap.org	1(202) 641-9000
Associated Press - Washington Bureau	Julie	Pace	Washington Bureau Chief	ipace@ap.org	1(202) 641-9809
BBC/British Broadcasting Corporation - New York	k Nada	Tawfik	Reporter	nada,tawfik@bbc.co.uk	1(908) 391-2954
Bloombera News	Ethan	Bronner	Senior Editor. Trump Organization ebronner@bloomberg.net	ebronner@bloomberg.net	1(212) 617-3677
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Bloomberg News - Washington Bureau	Nick	Wadhams	Reporter	nwadhams@bloomberg.net	1(202) 7/9-7147
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BuzzFeed	Miriam	Elder	World Editor	minam.elder@buzzfeed.com	(212) 431-7464
BuzzFeed	Emily	Tamkin		emily.tamkin@buzzfeed.com	
BuzzFeed - Washington Bureau	Hayes	Brown	Deputy World News Editor	hayes.brown@buzzfeed.com	1(212) 431-7464
CBC Television Network - New York Bureau	Melissa	Kent	United Nations Producer	melissa.kent@cbc.ca	1(212) 546-0510
CBS News Online	Camila	Schick	producer	camilaschick@cbsnews.com	
CBS Television Network	Pamela	Falk	U.N. Resident Correspondent	psf@cbsnews.com	1(917) 520-1785
CGTN America	John	Terrett	New York Correspondent	john.terrett@ogtnamerica.com	1(202) 639-4747
Chicago Tribune	Mitchell	May	Deputy National & Foreign News E	Emmay@chicagotribune.com	1(312) 222-3302
CNBC	Emma	Newburger		emma.newburger@nbcuni.com	
CNET - New York Bureau	Dan	Patterson	Senior Producer	dan.patterson@cbsinteractive.com	1(646) 472-4000
NNC	Natalie	Gallon		Natalie Gallon@turner.com	
NNN	AnneClaire	Stapleton	Senior International News Editor	anneclaire, stapleton@turner.com	(404) 827-1500
CNN - Washington Bureau	Jake	Tapper	Chief Washington Correspondent		1(202) 898-7911
CNN International	Richard	Roth	Senior International Corresponden richard roth@turner.com	richard roth@turner.com	1(212) 275-8064
CNN/Daily Beast	Kimberly	Dozier	Global Affairs Analyst	Kimberlydozier@protonmail.com	
Corriere della Sera - New York Bureau	Gitseppe	Sarcina	Correspondent	asarcina@corriere.it	1(212) 308-2000
Council on Foreign Relations	Zach	Laub		ZLaub@cfr.org	
	Rachel	Oswald	Foreign Policy Reporter	racheloswald@corolicall.com	1(202) 650-6455
Carlos January	land Claide	Criton	Disciple	ic@presscom com	1/805) 895-8185
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Fareed Zakaria GPS - CNN	Dana	Sheme	Writer/Producer	dana, sheme@tumer.com	1(404) 827-1500
Fast Company	Christopher	Zara	News Editor	czara@tastcompany.com	1(212) 389-5444
Feature Story News	Liling	Tan	United Nations Correspondent	lling@featurestory.com	1(202) 296-9012
Foreign Affairs	Justin	Vogt	Managing Editor		1(212) 434-9508
Foreign Policy	Gordon	Adams	Contributing Writer	gadams02@rcn.com	1(202) 728-7300
Foreign Policy	Robbie	Gramer	Diplomacy/ National security Repo	Diplomacy/ National security Repo robble.gramer@foreignpolicy.com	
Foreign Policy	Amy	Mackinnon		AMY.MACKINNON@FOREIGNPOLICY.COM	
Foreign Policy	Molly	O'Toole		molly otoole@foreignpolicy.com	
Foreign Policy	Kathryn	Salam	Deputy Editor	Kathryn. Salam@foreignpolicy.com	1(202) 728-7300
Foreign Policy	Colum	Lynch	Senior Diplomatic Reporter	columflynch@protonmail.com	1(212) 759-2897
Foreign Policy	James	Traub	Contributing Editor	fp@foreignpolicy.com	1(202) 728-7300
Foreign Policy Online	Ben	Soloway		Benjamin Soloway@foreignpolicy.com	
FOX News Channel	George	Russell	Editor-at-Large	george.russell@foxnews.com	1(212) 301-3000
Heing, Bridey	Bridey	Heing	Freelance Writer	bridey.heing@gmail.com	
HuffPost	Akbar	Ahmed		akbar.ahmed@huffpost.com	
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Inter Press Service - North America Bureau	Thalif	Deen	Director & Senior Consulting Edito thalifdeen@aol.com	thalifdeen@aol.com	
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	of chall	Kine	United Nations Correspondent	kinsomin@aol com	41040

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Course Times - New York Bureau	Youall	Shin	United Nations Correspondent	vishin@koreatimes.com	1(212) 869-8484
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Los Angeles Times	Molly	Hennessy-Fiske	Foreign Affairs Staff Writer	mollyhf@gmail.com	
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Morning Edition - NPR/National Public Radio	Steve	Inskeep	Host	sinskeep@npr.org	1(202) 513-2183
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PBS NewsHour - PBS	Daniel	Sagalyn	Deputy Senior Producer for Foreig dsagalyn@newshour.org	dsagalyn@newshour.org	1(703) 998-2877
POLITICO	Nahal	Toosi	Foreign Affairs Correspondent	ntoosi@politico.com	1(703) 647-7999
POLITICO	Bryan	Bender	National Security Correspondent	bbender@politico.com	1(703) 647-7999
РОЦПІСО	Lauren	Gardner	Reporter	lgardner@politico.com	1(703) 647-7999
Press Trust of India/PTI - New York Bureau	Yoshita	Singh	Chief Correspondent	yoshita.singh@yahoo.∞.in	
PRI's The World - PRI/Public Radio International	Stephen	Snyder	Senior Radio Producer		1(617) 300-2729
Quartz	Annalisa	Merelli	Geopolitics Reporter	amerelli@qz.com	1(347) 681-3191
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Reuters	Sebastien	Malo	Climate Correspondent	sebastien.malo@tr.com	1(646) 223-7664
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Reuters - United Nations Bureau	Michelle	Nichols	United Nations Bureau Chief	michelle.nichols@thomsonreuters.com	1(212) 355-6053
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SABC News - New York Bureau	Sherwin	Bryce-Pease	UN Correspondent	s.brycepease@gmail.com	1(917) 703-4470
Sampathkumar, Mythili	Mythili	Sampathkumar	Freelance Journalist	mythilis1@gmail.com	1/212/ 702-0454
Sankei Shimbun - New York Bureau	Mayu	Merchion	United Mations Commenced	inayu.uetsukai@khiiy.com	1(212) 759-5186
Security Council Report - New York Bulleau	Spalling	Kaplan	Columnist	war stories@hofmail.com	1(646) 494-8630
State Machineter Dumen	Pied	Kapting	Staff Writer	joshua keatino@slate com	1(646) 494-8630
Tale Media Name Nam Vort Breeze	Justina	Variate	Chief Foreign Correspondent	like@talkmedianews.com	1/617) 909-9169
TASS - Inited Nations Bureau	Oleg	Zelenin	Senior Correspondent	washtass@amail.com	1(212) 688-6764
The Atlantic	Krishnadev	Calamaur	Diplomacy Editor	kcalamur@theatlantic.com	
The Atlantic	Kathy	Gilsinan	Staff Writer	kathy@theatlantic.com	1(202) 266-6000
The Christian Science Monitor	Scott	Armstrong	Senior Editor	armstrongs@csps.com	1(617) 450-2387
The Christian Science Monitor	Howard	LaFranchi	Diplomacy Correspondent	lafranchih@csps.com	1(617) 450-2300
The Christian Science Monitor	Mark	Sappenfield	Editor	sappenfleldm@csps.com	1(617) 450-2000
The Daily Beast	Charles	Davis	Journalist	Charles.Davis@thedailybeast.com	
The Guardian	B	Pilkington	Chief Reporter, Guardian US	ed.pilkington@theguardian.com	1(917) 900-4553
The Guardian - Washington Bureau	Julian	Borger	World Affairs Editor	julian.borger@theguardian.com	1(202) 223-2486
The Hill	Brandon	Conradis		bconradis@thenill.com	0000 000 0000
The Himachal Times - New York Bureau	Vijay	Pandhi	United Nations Correspondent	Jayvpandni@aoi.com	1(716) 630-6673
The Industrial	Rvan	Devereaux		ryan deversaux@theintercept.com	
The Miami Herald	Jim	Wss		iwvss@miamiherald.com	(573) 124-6517 x
The Nation	Barbara	Crosette	Correspondent		1(212) 209-5400
The New York Times	Roger	Cohen	Op-Ed Columnist	roger.cohen@nytimes.com	
The Mass Vort Times	Carol	Giacomo	Editorial Writer	alacoca@nvtimes.com	1(212) 556-7159

		384	4		21011
The New York Times	Rick	Gladstone	Foreign Desk Editor	rickg@nytimes.com	1(212) 556-8062
The New York Times	Frances	Robles		frances.robles@nytimes.com	
The New York Times	Michael	Schwirtz	Investigative Reporter	schwirtz@nytimes.com	
The New York Times	Amanda	Taub	Columnist	amanda.taub@nytimes.com	
The New York Times	Roger	Cohen	Op-Ed Columnist	roger.cohen@nytimes.com	
The New York Times	Adeel	Hassan	Reporter	adeel.hassan@nytimes.com	
The New York Times	Andrew	Jacobs	Reporter	jacobsa@nytimes.com	
The New York Times	Michael	Schwirtz	Investigative Reporter	schwirtz@nytimes.com	
The New York Times	Somini	Sengupta	Reporter	sengupta@nytimes.com	
The New York Times	Hiroko	Tabuchi	Reporter	htabuchi@nytimes.com	1(212) 556-2642
The New York Times - Washington Bureau	Lara	Jakes	Correspondent	lara.jakes@nytimes.com	1(202) 862-0300
The New Yorker	Carla	Blumenkranz	Senior Editor	carla_blumenkranz@newyorker.com	1(212) 286-2860
The New Yorker	Alexis	Okeowo	Staff Writer	aboutexodus@gmail.com	1(212) 286-2860
The Texas Tribune	Hannah	Wiley			
The Wall Street Journal	Hammad	Jawdat	World Desk News Editor	hammad.jawdat@wsj.com	1(212) 416-2094
The Wall Street Journal	Matt	Murray	Editor in Chief	matt.murray@wsj.com	1(212) 416-4232
The Wall Street Journal	Peter	Saidel	Deputy World Editor	peter saidel@wsj.com	(212) 416-2000
The Wall Street Journal - Weekington Bureau	100	Colh	Executive Weshington Editor	iony cath@wei com	4/20/21 862-925
The Washington Post		Diehl	Debuty Editorial Page Editor & Col jackson diehl@washbost com	jackson diehl@washoost com	1(202) 334-7467
The Washington Post	Michael	Gerson	Columnist	michaelgerson@washpost.com	(202) 334-6000
The Washington Post	Douglas	Jehl	Foreign Editor	Douglas jehl@washpost.com	1(202) 334-6000
The Washington Post	Ruby	Mellen		ruby.mellen@washpost.com	
The Washington Post	Carol	Morello	Diplomatic Correspondent	carol.morello@washpost.com	1(202) 334-6042
The Washington Post	Siobhan	O'Grady	Staff Writer	siobhan.ogrady@washpost.com	1(202) 334-6000
The Washington Post	Claire	Parker	Reporter	claire.parker@washpost.com	
The Washington Post	Eva	Rodriguez	Deputy Foreign Editor	eva.rodriguez@washpost.com	1(202) 334-6000
The Washington Post	Ishaan	Tharoor	Foreign Affairs Reporter	ishaan.tharoor@washpost.com	1(202) 334-6000
The Washington Post	Adam	Taylor	Foreign Affairs Reporter	adam.taylor@washpost.com	1(202) 334-6000
The Washington Post	Karen	DeYoung	Associate Editor & Senior Nation	Associate Editor & Senior Natio karen.deyoung@washpost.com	1(202) 334-7468
The Washington Post	Lally	Weymouth	Senior Associate Editor	lally.weymouth@washpost.com	1(202) 334-6000
The Washington Post	Adam	Kushner	Outlook Editor	Adam.kushner@washpost.com	1(202) 334-6000
IIME	100	DIGILLIGI	Poleign Analis Columnst & Euro	neillileitgeulasiagioup.ilei	1(212) 322-1212
Tokyo Shimbun/Chunichi Shimbun Thiled Malion Tomotochi	Abigail	Abrams	Staff Writer	abigail.abrams@timemagazine.com	1(212) 522-1212
Toking Shimban Chindren Shimban - Onned Indian Parish	on Tollingtonia	Contract	Danaga Cilici	acyachimentonical and a second	1(212) 969-1070
Tokyo Shimbun/Chunichi Shimbun - United Nation Miki	on Miki	Kato	United Nations Correspondent	katou.m2@chunichi.co.ip	1(212) 969-1870
Tribune - New York Bureau	lan	Williams	Correspondent	uswarreport@jqc.org	1(212) 686-8884
Turkish Journal - New York Bureau	Selcuk	Acar	United Nations Correspondent	selcuk.acar@aa.com.tr	1(917) 365-6087
TV Japan	Widad	Franco	Producer	widad.franco@nhkny.com	1(212) 980-0535
UN Dispatch	Mark	Goldberg	Executive Editor	markleongoldberg@gmail.com	
UN Tribune	Denis	Fitzgerald	Editor	dfitzgerald@untribune.com	
USA Today	John	Bacon	Rewrite Chief	jbacon@usatoday.com	(703) 854-3656
USA Today	Sergio	Bustos	World Editor	SBustos@usatoday.com	
USA Today	Deirdre	Shesgreen	Congressional Reporter	dshesgreen@usatoday.com	1(703) 854-3400
USA Today	Nicole	Carroll	Editor in Chief	nicole@usatoday.com	1(703) 854-3400
VICE	Nicholas	Miriello	Senior International Editor	nick.miriello@vice.com	1(718) 599-3101
Voice of America Radio Network	Elizabeth	Arrott	Deputy Foreign Editor	earrott@voa.gov	1(202) 203-4000
Voice of America Radio Network	Kenneth	Rose		rose.kenneth.voa@gmail.com	200
Voice of America Kadio Network - New York Bures	e Margaret	Besneer	United Nations Correspondent	mbesneer@voanews.com	1(212) 826-4529
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